

# **Dictatorship and Theory (Varlam Cherkezishvili's Critic of Social-Democratic Movement)**

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## **Abstract**

The central question on which Varlam Cherkezishvili focuses attention is authoritarian character philosophy of Marx and Engels. This theory in the name of emancipation of person creates most radical totalitarian theory. Varlam Cherkezishvili is one of the founder of the methodological anarchism. The methodological anarchism directed against totalitarian presumptions Marxist ideology. Later anarchist thinkers such as Paul Feyerabend (epistemological anarchism) and Murray Bookchin (social anarchism) based their thoughts on the principles methodological of anarchism.

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**Keywords:** Anarchism, Theory, Dictatorship, Emancipation, Freedom

## **Introduction**

Prince Varlam Cherkezishvili legendary person (1846–1925). He was a Georgian politician and journalist, involved in anarchist communist movement, and later in the Georgian national liberation movement. He was also known as Warlaam Tcherkesoff or Varlam Cherkezov in Russian manner.

He was born into the family of the Georgian Prince Aslan Cherkezishvili in Tbilisi, Georgia (then part of Imperial Russia). He was sent to be educated in Russia in the 1850s. He joined the Russian socialist movement at its very beginnings, and was arrested twice between 1866 and 1869. Following a trial in the summer of 1871, he was imprisoned at the Peter and Paul Fortress, and then exiled in Tomsk in 1874. Two years later, he escaped to Western Europe, where he worked with the press in the circles of Russian emigration and fellow anarchists. He was also prominent in his criticism of Marxist ideas. His main work, Pages of Social History, was translated into nine languages. Actively involved in the Georgian national liberation movement, he helped to found the Georgian Socialist-Federalist

Party. He wrote for the Times a series of articles in 1877 to bring to the attention of an English speaking audience the situation in Georgia.

He returned to Tiflis, Georgia, with the break-up of the Russian Revolution of 1905, but its failure and the repression in Georgia compelled Cherkezishvili to return to Europe (1907). With Kropotkin, Rudolf Rocker and Alexander Schapiro he participated in the foundation of the Anarchist Red Cross. Back in London, he rallied Kropotkin's position in defense of the Allies in World War I, and signed in 1916 the so-called Manifesto of the Sixteen. With the October Revolution of 1917 he returned to Petrograd, and when Georgia obtained its independence in May 1918, he obtained a seat in the Constituent Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Georgia. The Soviet occupation forced him into exile in March 1921. He returned to London where he would continue to fight again for Georgia's independence, until his death in 1925.

The well-known work of Varlam Cherkezishvili *-Pages or Socialist History .Teaching and Acts of Social Democracy* - was published in 1896 in Russian language and 1902 in English language. The main thesis of this work has been criticism of the dictatorial position of Marx and Engels theory. The above mentioned work is considered a classic of anarchist thought. Nowadays, a modern anarchist pays great attention to hereditary Varlam Cherkezishvili (W. Tcherkesoff).

Varlam Crekezishvili together with Kropotkin and Bakunin is one of important person in anarchistic movement. We can say that he is one of the founders of methodological anarchism. In this context anarchism don't means apology of chaos. In contrary, it means emancipation and defense of person's autonomy and its freedom in the civil space. Varlam Cherkezishvili criticizes Marx and Engels according the principles of social and methodological anarchism. Especially, this criticism concerns to social analysis as it understood by Marx and Engels. Cherkezishvili on the basis of factual material shows that prophecy of Marx was not held. One of the major theses of Marx that by overgrowth capitalization of society capitalism will become more predatory - factually not held<sup>66</sup>. On the contrary, Cherkezishvili mentions that in the footsteps of technological development of society will increase the demand for skilled workers. So this means that the growth of skilled workers will not result their proletarianization, but increasing their participation in the process of capitalization. Varlam Cherkezishvili on the basis of factual material shows how changes the social class of European society. We can say that, for the first time Varlam Cherkezishvili focuses on technology, its liberating role in the development

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<sup>66</sup> W.Tcherkesoff . Pages or Socialist History .Teaching and Acts of Social Democracy. Cooper. New York 1902 pp.27-28.

of society. Varlam Cherkezishvili together with Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and Kropotkin thinks, even Marxian Surplus value<sup>67</sup> theory was not held. This theory suggested capital accumulation in one center (especially in industrial cities) and not its division in other areas. He shows how distributes capital in all level society and arise middle class.<sup>68</sup> From this argument follows the idea of Cherkezishvili according to which the society is a step by step goes towards decentralization of capital and the deployment of society. Also from this follows, anarchistic thesis, as much as possible must be destroyed parasitic creature of society – power; the power must be annihilated and transit in to small groups of society. For the emancipation person to economic decentralization should follow the federalization of The Society.

The central question on which Cherkezishvili focuses attention is authoritarian character philosophy of Marx and Engels. This theory in the name of emancipation of person creates most radical totalitarian theory. According to Cherkezishvili, metaphysical character of Marx-Engels theory implied in itself peril to convert in absolute power. The main reason for this confusion was wrong scientific methodology: “The so-called science of those who aspire to universal dictatorship”<sup>69</sup>. Marx and Engels, instead of the inductive method of research they base their investigation on the metaphysical method, which makes the authoritarian nature of the theory. These methods of economic analysis, which develops Engels actually rejects the new economic realities. This theory from metaphysical precondition of the fetishes economic relations makes conclusion on reality.<sup>70</sup> Thus, in accordance with Cherkezishvili, social-democratic movement, which was based on the teachings of Marx and Engels, they drew all his forces to seize the state. For this reason this so called social-democratic movement became part of hierarchical system, centralization, oppression and violence. Addition to this for Marxian is characterized venerate of economy and replacement ethical revolutionary movement with economic reformism. “For this reason, all its efforts appealed to obtain power through parliamentary election.”<sup>71</sup> in the social democratic movement is not self-organization of people take first place, but state reforms, the struggle against the power replaced by the struggle for power, the ethical evaluation of the circumstances changed by quietism, fatalism and doctrinaire. Therefore, accordance to Cherkezishvili, "concentration of capital and class struggle is the basis tactics and ethics for

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<sup>67</sup> This theory Cherkezishvili considered as plagiarism

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.* 24-25

<sup>69</sup> <sup>69</sup> W.Tcherkesoff . Pages or Socialist History .Teaching and Acts of Social Democracy. Cooper. New York 1902 pp. 22

<sup>70</sup> *ibid.* 45

<sup>71</sup> Cherkezov Varlam .The Forerunner of International. Doctrine of Marxism. Russian edition. Moscow, 1919, pp. 188-189.

Marxists. This position give them muslim-fatalistic belief that capitalists will be exterminated by each other<sup>72</sup>. Accordance to Cherkezishvili, apology of industrialism, the worship of the development of productive forces and the belief that by the use of force is possible to realize socialism led Marxists to authoritarianism, fatalism and inhumanity. Apology of the industrialism and state necessarily puts on the first place the urban lifestyle and subordinate to them the agricultural lifestyle. Such circumstances necessary will be led Marxists, on one side, to the idea industrialization of agricultural lifestyle and struggle against peasants and on the other side, to seize power by peaceful methods and to the practice of state slavery, casern and oppression. This prophecy was made in 1870th by Bakunin<sup>73</sup>, but by Cherkezishvili in detail has been proved and developed this idea. Cherkezishvili notes that "the Marxists in the concentration of capital brought fatalism and prophecy, and instead of freedom, brotherhood and autonomy - they developed the idea of human obedience, discipline, all-embracing and powerful Hegelian state."<sup>74</sup>

How ironic it was not, Ioseb Jughashvili (Stalin) was this person who recognized strength of arguments Cherkezishvili and attempted abolish arguments. How ironic it was not, Ioseb Jughashvili (Stalin) was this person who recognized strength of arguments Cherkezishvili and attempted abolish arguments. In 1906 in Tbilisi he published his work "Anarchism or socialism". But at the beginning of his work he made mistakes, through which justified the assumption Cherkezishvili. In accordance Dzhugashvili (Stalin) :: "Marxism and anarchism is built on different principles although both came to the battlefield with the flag of socialism, the cornerstone of anarchism is the person, whose emancipation is the main condition for the liberation of the masses. According to anarchism, emancipation of mass impossible without emancipation person. For this reason its major slogan is "all for person". In accordance of Marxism, emancipation of person impossible without emancipation mass. For this reason its major slogan is "all for mass". That is the metaphysical assumption of the totality troubled Cherkezishvili which annihilates any personal."<sup>75</sup>

## Conclusion

Thus Varlam Cherkezishvili is one of the founder of the methodological anarchism. The methodological anarchism directed against

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<sup>72</sup> ibid. 170.

<sup>73</sup> See. Bakunin Mikhail. Statehood and Anarchy. Russian edition. Moscow, 1989.

<sup>74</sup> Cherkezov Varlam .The Forerunner of International. Doctrine of Marxism. Russian edition. Moscow, 1919 pp. 118.

<sup>75</sup> Jughashvili Ioseb (Stalin). Anarchism or Socialism. Tbilisi 1951.Georgian edition. Tbilisi, 1951.

totalitarian presumptions Marxist ideology. Later anarchist thinkers such as Paul Feyerabend (epistemological anarchism) and Murray Bookchin (social anarchism) based their thoughts on the principles methodological of anarchism. This two kinds anarchism has one background. Political anarchism tries to abolish authoritarian principles of social arrangement and epistemological anarchism authoritarian way of thinking. The doctrine of epistemological anarchism is starting from the view that a universal scientific method does not exist, Feyerabend goes on to argue that science therefore does not deserve its privileged status in western society. Since scientific points of view do not arise from using a universal method which guarantees high-quality conclusions, there is no justification for valuing scientific claims over claims by other ideologies like religion. In Feyerabend's view, science can be a repressing ideology in society instead of a liberating movement; he thought that a pluralistic society should be protected from being influenced too much by science, just as it is protected from other ideologies.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Paul Feyerabend. *Against method*. First published London : New Left Books, 1975. 3rd Edition published . Verso 1993.